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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 304



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

JAPAN'S PROBABLE DIRECTION IN 1980'S VIEWED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 4, 1982 pp 6-10

[Article by Xu Yan [1776 3225] and Yi Lin [2184 2651]: "Japan's Course in the 1980's"]

[Excerpts] Entering the 1980's, the Western countries have generally fallen into the predicament of economic stagnation. Recently, some Japanese have begun calling Japan the "world's number two economic power," second only to the United States.

Therefore, Japan's course of development in the 1980's has become the focus of world attention.

"Third Long Voyage"

The Japanese nation is vigorous and, with its attainment of success, its confidence has become stronger. When Prime Minister Suzuki visited America in 1981 he asserted: Japan is now entering the period of its "third long voyage." Various circumstances indicate that Japan is now preparing, full of high ambitions, to scale new heights.

Recalling the past...we see that Japan became one of the world powers as a result of the eiji Restoration. This was the "first long voyage." Being a defeated country in World War II, Japan formulated at the beginning of the 1950's the strategic policy of "founding the state on the economy" and "founding the state on trade," thereby beginning the "second long voyage of postwar revival." After 30 years, Japan has developed into an "economic power," realizing its long-cherished wish since the Meiji Restoration of catching up with the West. Now, the "third long voyage" has been announced by Japan to be to play the role of a "dynamic creator" on the world stage.

From the opinions on public affairs expressed by some Japanese newspapers and periodicals, in present-day society a so-called trend of thought is now surging up which reevaluates "Japan's intrinsic worth," advocates "Japanese civilization," and creates a "Japanese model." People in Japanese political circles proudly maintain that because Japan's economy is flourishing, its social and political situation quite "stable." In the election for the two houses of the Diet held in 1980, a stable majority of seats in the legislature

was obtained by the Liberal Democratic Party. Inside Japan a "neoconservative trend of thought" that is "unwilling to effect sudden changes in the status quo" has developed. Above in broad outline is the capital and dynamic force for the new goals of Japan's long voyage.

A "State Founded on Technology" and a "Political Power"

Japanese Government officials and various "brain trusts" (the various research organizations) have made all sorts of designs and plans concerning the prospects for development in the coming 10 to 20 years. Within them, two fundamental slogans have been raised: one is to take the path of a "state founded on technology" and the other is to establish the position of a "political power."

The purport of the so-called "state founded on technology" is to establish a powerful industrial and technological superiority and continue to vigorously develop the economy.

Many Japanese scholars and experts disagree with the argument that the country is now in "a period of stagnation in technological development." They think that the technological revolution that emerged from the 1940's to the 1960's of the 20th century ended the "state of invention and discovery" and changed over to the "stage of the widespread application, combination, and systematization of existing technology," and that in this period there is still a high tide of innovation, and its motive force is the high-speed development and the application in great numbers of semiconductor electronic computers. They think that in the 1980's there will arise the "age of the minicomputer revolution."

<u>Time worked per week</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Actual time worked per year (hours)</u>
43.1	Japan	2,146
39.1	America	1,934
40.5	Britain	1,957
37.3	West Germany	1,728
39.4	France	1,799

Japanese workers work over 3 months more a year than West German workers

Source: Comparative international data compiled by Japanese banks

What is a "political power?" From looking at representative comment in the Japanese press, its main meaning is to stress "not becoming a military power" but rather establishing a "position in international politics commensurate with the actual strength of its economic power."

The majority of people in Japan's ruling faction, in view of their prewar lessons and postwar experiences, maintain that in the present stage by not engaging in large-scale arms expansion, not arming itself with nuclear weapons, and preserving its image as a "peaceful power, Japan benefits the continuing development of its economic and technological superiority. They maintain that the cost of arms is huge, that the arms race drags back the economies of both

the United States and the Soviet Union, and that the stocks of medium-grade nuclear weapons laid up by Britain and France pose a considerable strain on these two countries, and if "one rides a tiger one will find it hard to get off." If Japan were to put a lot of its national strength into arms, it would lose the foundation for its economic vigor. At the same time, if Japan were to equip itself with nuclear weapons this would inevitably sharpen the contradictions within the country and throw internal politics into confusion, to the extent of endangering the stability of political power; outside Japan, it would lead to opposition and uneasiness on the part of other countries and cause Japan to become isolated. In addition, Japan's territory is small and narrow, its industry and population are concentrated, and it would be hard for it by itself to match the strategic postures of the Soviet Union and America. The result of their weighing of advantages and disadvantages was that they tended to take the opportunity in the present state of Soviet-U.S. confrontation toward continuing to increase Japan's economic strength so as to improve its political position internationally.

In order to win this position of a "political power," Japan has proposed a "comprehensive security guarantees scheme." Its indicated goal is to develop in the future the "creation of a peaceful international environment," so that Japan will gradually become a "country that is internationally acknowledged to be able to play a leading role." The main content of this strategic scheme is: First, the world of the 1980's faces a "comprehensive crisis": The Soviet threat, the energy problem, the West's economic difficulties, and the turbulence in the Third World--factors which mutually affect each other and which develop in an interlocked manner. Second, the preservation of the world's peace and stability depends on the "collective interests" of countries that possess common strategic interests: Japan wants, as a "member of the Western camp," to maintain the Japan-U.S. alliance and the "Japan-U.S.-Europe system"; to develop its relations with China; to cooperate with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations; to avoid a direct confrontation with the Soviet Union; and to gradually give impetus to "pan-Pacific cooperation." Third, Japan wants to bring together various means--economic, military, diplomatic, and cultural--so as to make "contributions" to the world with "comprehensive strength": economically Japan wants to assume more "responsibility" and give full play to the "political results" of its economic aid in order "to eliminate the factors for instability in international politics and economic affairs and to insure the supply of natural resources," and Japan plans within 5 years to double the amount of governmental aid for development, thereby making Japan the "world's number two economic power." Fourth, Japan has "solidly increased military expenditures," strengthened to a moderate degree military arms, shared responsibility for more of its defense tasks, gradually extended its ship-escort limit to 1,000 nautical miles, accelerated the modernization and domestic manufacture of weapons and equipment, studied and mastered advanced military technology, so as to gradually reverse the uncoordinated situation of Japan being a "big economic power" and a "small military power."

"...In its development Japan also faces many problems. The general thinking is that the main problem is the worsening of external conditions. At the same time, in comparison with the past 30 years, there have been enormous changes in Japan's international circumstances, and some factors for instability have had a restrictive effect on its economic development.

Japan is a "small power in natural resources," and its present dependence on overseas natural resources and energy is greater than ever before in its history and is deeper than that of any country in the world; its natural resources import is concentrated in several important areas. In the future, by the taking of various conservation measures, in absolute terms imports could be much reduced but with the expansion of the economic scale some imports will still increase. Therefore, Japan's most worrying situations in the supply of natural resources and energy have changed drastically.

What is closely interrelated with the natural resources and energy resources problem is that the threat to the security of transport lines that is clearly becoming more serious. At present, Japan accounts for about 25 percent (in terms of ton nautical miles) of the world's maritime cargo transport. Every year it imports or exports about 700 tons, and about 75 percent of the maritime transport is concentrated in a crescent-shaped belt from the western Pacific Ocean through Southeast Asia to the Persian Gulf, and this area is precisely the principal target of the Soviet Union's "southern" strategy. With the Soviet Union's seeking hegemony over the world, the entire international situation tends to become more turbulent and tense. Therefore, the international conditions that Japan seeks to develop are very undependable.

In addition, Japan's economic war with America and Europe is becoming more and more fierce. For example, the United States has now changed from Japan's "protector" to its main "competitor." In recent years, Japan's trade friction with America and Europe has continually escalated and relations have become strained. Reischauer, an American scholar, has said: There are only two ways of solving the Japan-U.S. economic problem. One is for the United States to increase its rate of production, and the other is for Japan to increase its military expenditures and thus slow its speed of economic development. From looking at the situation in 1981, we see that the United States is more and more tending to demand that Japan expand its military expenditures, purchase U.S. weapons, and share the cost of escorting ships, so that Japan will make economic "sacrifices."

Strategically, Japan needs to coordinate with America and Europe in order to withstand Soviet pressure; at the same time it is striving hard to enhance its right to speak up in the Western camp, and it is especially striving for a greater "right to act on its own" in the Japan-U.S. alliance. Looking at the past summit conference of seven countries of the West, it seems that Japan feels that internationally it has not yet received the attention commensurate with its national strength and that it still has not obtained a position like that of West Germany or France. It ardently desires the realization of a so-called "Japan-U.S.-Europe plural leadership system." This tendency means a challenge to America's dominant position and will affect Japan's strategic coordination with America and Europe. Therefore, how Japan will handle in the future its relations with America and Europe is a very difficult problem.

It should be pointed out that Japan's security and development depend to a high degree on its relations with Asian countries. In view of the lessons of history, over the years it has handled the Asian problem comparatively cautiously. However, the Asian countries are not satisfied with the cooperation

provided by Japan, and are closely watching to see if it will assume the posture of a "world economic power," and even consider itself to be the "leader of Asia," adopting an attitude of great-nation chauvinism.

Brzezinski, former U.S. national security adviser, in a book "Fragile Flowers," pointed out this "economic power," Japan, has had both "domestic troubles" and "foreign aggression," and changes in the international environment will probably be the direct cause of the outbreak of various kinds of contradictions within the country. Only time will tell whether in the 1980's the big ship "Japan" will have smooth sailing on its "third long voyage."

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CSO: 4005/782

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON VISIT TO KOREAN MILITARY COLLEGE

HK270612 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Apr 82 p 6

["Newsletter From Korea" by correspondent Zhou Bizhong [0719 1801 1813]:
"The Cradle of High and Middle-Ranking Military Commanders--A Visit to the
Kim Il-song Military College"]

[Text] The Kim Il-song Military College, which is likened to the cradle of high and middle-ranking military commanders in Korea, is surrounded by a verdant thicket. The school buildings, being beautifully set off by red and yellow flowers, look so beautiful and secluded. We paid a visit to this military college on a warm and sunny spring day.

The college's first vice president, Lieutenant General Kim Sun-il warmly received this reporter and spoke briefly about the college. This college grew out of the advanced military institute which was established in October 1952 during the liberation war. At that time, in order to meet the needs of war, the method of short-term training was chiefly adopted to train company to divisional commanders of the field army. The name of the school remained unchanged until 1973, and since then it has been the most important military institute of Korea. There are four departments, the departments of tactics, artillery, communications and social sciences, and 32 teaching and research sections in this well-appointed academy. Of the 180,000 square meters' of built-up area, the educational building covers an area of 8,000 square meters. On the first floor, there is a library and on the second and third floors, there are various classrooms. In some classrooms there are large sand tables which show the topography and landforms of Korea and in some others there are sketch maps based on some typical battles in the fatherland's liberation war. Through television, the students can see and hear a lecturer in another classroom.

As this college is for training high and middle-ranking commanders from battalion to divisional levels, it has many strict regulations governing enrollment and graduation. According to these regulations, the entrance examinees are recommended by the army units where they work and should be young officials under 32 who have been trained in ordinary military

schools and have learned some basic knowledge of military theory. After they are admitted into the college, they are divided into several classes in accordance with the different specialties they are going to study. Like regular university students, they have to pass examinations before going on to a higher grade and must prepare an acceptable academic thesis before graduation. At present, there are 10 classes in the college. For commander and chief officer students, the length of schooling is 3 years, and for students of technological management, the length is 4 years. In the morning, they study battalion or group army commandership knowledge by combining theory with practice, and in the afternoon, they study on their own. When they graduate from this college after years of strict and scientific training, most of them will return to their original units and take up posts of a higher grade, while a few of them will remain at school. Outstanding students may be promoted more than one grade and appointed to important posts after having practiced at a lower level leadership position for the necessary period of time. In the last 30 years since its founding, this college has trained tens of thousands of high and middle-ranking military commanders. All current commanders from the divisional to group army levels are graduates from this college. General Kim Sun-il thus told this reporter wittily: "No, I do not have to worry about my meals no matter where I go!"

In order to raise the quality of education, the college pays great attention to the selection and training of teachers. Every year, it selects a number of excellent students who are capable of teaching from among the graduates, and appoints them assistant lecturers. If they have studied very well in all subjects, they may be given an examination and directly promoted to lecturer. At regular intervals of several years, the teachers are given a promotion test. When the teachers feel it necessary to systematically sum up their experiences or write books and essays on some special subjects after years of educational practice, they are encouraged to do so by the college, and their hours of lecturing will be reduced by the teaching and research section when they make arrangements. Thus, they can spend more time on theoretical work. At present, of the over 600 teachers in this college, about 50 percent have experienced battle during the fatherland's liberation war and have rich battle experience, and about 50 percent are graduates from this college. In order to better combine education with practice, about 10 to 15 percent of the teachers are usually sent in rotation to various army units to do practical work and take up commanding posts at various levels.

There is a research institute for postgraduates in this college. It has two classes. One is for cultivating high-ranking military commanders through studying divisional and group army tactics and the other is for cultivating high-ranking military theoretical cadres at the doctorate and associate doctorate level.

After the visit we saw a group of young army officers walking on the campus boulevard. Some were standing in a circle, discussing something. They all look so healthy, strong and full of vigor. Today, in the northern part of Korea, there are thousand upon thousands of such young men, who are taking the posts of guarding the republic.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON WESTERN EUROPE

NATO Support to Alliance

OW061924 Beijing XINHUA in English 1559 GMT 6 May 82

[Text] Brussels, May 6 (XINHUA)--Defense ministers from the European member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization reaffirmed their readiness to strengthen the alliance, according to a communique released Wednesday.

The communique, issued after a one-day meeting of NATO's Eurogroup defense ministers, said European security and defense depend on the partnership with North America through the NATO alliance.

It noted that the presence in Europe of North American armed forces with rapid reinforcement capabilities and nuclear commitment remains integral to European security.

The defense ministers approved the development of the Eurogroup as a forum for substantial political-strategic discussions in defense, the communique said.

Ministers participating in the annual spring meeting expressed concern about the adverse balance of forces in Europe caused by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

Speaking to news reporters this morning, chairman of Wednesday's meeting and Italian Defense Minister Lelio Lagorio said the North American public should become more informed about Europe's contributions to the NATO alliance. According to the communique, Eurogroup provides 90 percent of NATO's ground forces, 75 percent of the air forces and a high proportion of maritime forces.

Concerning the Anglo-Argentine conflict over the Malvinas (Falkland) Islands, the Eurogroup defense ministers "condemned Argentina's armed invasion" and urged all parties "to seek a negotiated solution."

Defense Conference Ends

OW072018 Beijing XINHUA in English 1830 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Brussels, May 7 (XINHUA)--A two-day NATO defense planning committee conference reviewed NATO's defense efforts under the current international situation and discussed security problems in other areas outside NATO.

According to a communique issued today at the end of the conference, the conference expressed concern over the grave challenges facing NATO, particularly the Warsaw Pact's numerical superiority in various fields as well as the marked advances the Soviet Union has made in technology and arms production capability. Ministers at the conference stressed the need for NATO to maintain an effective military posture.

Reviewing NATO defense planning issues, the conference studied the force goals [as received] for the period of 1983 to 1988. It stressed the importance of NATO's member countries adhering to the existing 3 percent formula guidance in augmenting military spending. NATO will continue to strengthen its capabilities by making the best use of the human, material and financial resources available, the communique said.

Concerning arms control, the conference called on the Soviet Union to take action "to reestablish an international climate of confidence. In this context, the conference welcomed the U.S. negotiating position in the Geneva INF talks. However, the participating ministers said it is important to continue preparations for the deployment of cruise missiles and Pershing II missiles in Europe. Greece expressed reservations on this issue.

Security problems outside NATO, such as the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, were also discussed at the conference.

Concerning the Ango-Argentine conflict in the South Atlantic Ocean, the ministers endorsed a statement by the Eurogroup ministers condemning "Argentina's armed invasion of the Falkland Islands" and underscored "the need to seek a negotiated solution (of the dispute) acceptable to all parties concerned on the basis of U.N. Security Council resolution 502."

On the question of out-of-area deployment of forces, the conference called for consultations in advance which it described as "necessary," since any policy adopted in this respect is a matter of national decision. The military committee is studying the implications of the United States strategic concept for Southwest Asia to the NATO alliance, the communique said.

The communique concluded by stating that NATO is welcome to [as received] the prospects of Spain becoming a member of the alliance.

EEC Foreign Ministers Meeting

OW091846 Beijing XINHUA in English 1626 GMT 9 May 82

[Text] Beijing, May 9 (XINHUA)--Foreign ministers of the European Economic Community countries ended their regular semiannual meeting, which centered on the British-Argentine conflict, in Villers le Temple, Belgium, Saturday, according to reports from Brussels.

British Foreign Secretary Francis Pym briefed the meeting on the latest developments of the monthlong conflict and explained why Britain enlarged its exclusion zone in the South Atlantic. While expressing Britain's desire to seek a diplomatic solution, Pym demanded an extension of EEC's sanction against Argentina which expires on May 17. The failure of extending the sanction would be a serious blow to Britain's negotiating position, Pym stressed.

Dutch Foreign Minister Max Van Der Stoel told a press conference after the meeting that any extension of the EEC embargo will depend on Britain's restraint in the use of military force. "We have not given a blank check to Britain," he said.

Though the British use of military force resulted from what he called "an Argentine aggression," the Dutch foreign minister believed it "cannot justify disproportionate reactions."

It is reported the 10 EEC members preferred to await the outcome of U.N. mediations on a British-Argentine ceasefire. Whether there would be an extension would be decided by their permanent missions in Brussels.

The EEC sanction, in force since April 17, consists of a stoppage of arms sales to, and all imports from, Argentina.

The foreign ministers also discussed the Iranian-Iraqi war, the Palestinian problem, the situation in Poland and Britain's contribution to the EEC budget.

CSO: 4000/113

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

COMMENTARY ON EGYPT

Ties With Arab Nations

OW071910 Beijing XINHUA in English 1614 GMT 7 May 82

["Fine Prospects for Egypt's Relations With Other Arab Nations--by XINHUA Correspondent Wan Guang"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Cairo, May 6 (XINHUA)--Egypt's recovery of its territory, the Sinai Peninsula, opened new prospects for improving its relations with other Arab nations.

Since the return of Sinai to Egypt from Israel on April 25, some new developments in Egypt's relations with other Arab countries have appeared. King Husayn of Jordan and King Hassan II of Morocco sent messages to Egypt on April 27, congratulating Egypt's restoration of Sinai.

Moroccan Prime Minister Maati Bouabid, Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali and secretary general of the Arab League Chedli Klibi also expressed hope for Egypt's return to the Arab world.

Omani Sultan Qabus will reportedly visit Cairo soon. Bahrain Amir's Brother Shaykh Muhammad ibn Salman al Khalifah and Princess (Teghrif), wife of the brother of Jordan's King Husayn, are now in Egypt on a visit. It has been speculated here that high ranking officials from other Arab nations have been in Cairo on "unofficial visits." According to an unconfirmed Saudi Arabian news report, Moroccan Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boucetta is also scheduled to visit Egypt.

Some factors are causing Arab moderate states and Egypt to consider improving their relations.

Since its withdrawal from Sinai, Israel has tightened its control over the West Bank of the Jordan River, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights and has attempted to launch a new attack on Lebanon. Repression by Israeli troops against the Palestinians in Lebanon is reported daily.

Israel's grave challenge calls for Arab unity. Arab leaders who seek the return of Egypt to the Arab world have unanimously stressed Egypt's weight and important position in the Arab world. They point out that the absence of Egypt from the Arab world has weakened the Arab strength.

After the restoration of Sinai, Egypt has expressed its determination to support the Palestinian and other Arab people's struggle for the recovery of all their lost land and to seek a comprehensive and peaceful settlement for the Middle East problem.

The Arab nations in the Gulf particularly want Egypt's support to protect the Gulf from any possible Soviet further thrust into the region. Egypt has said that the security and stability of the Gulf Arab nations is "an integral part of our strategic security" and it "would view with deep concern" any threat to the security of these nations.

Egypt supports Iraq in its war with Iran, and this support has resulted in a good opinion of Egypt by the Arab nations. Egypt has also said that it will help the Gulf nations protect the Gulf oilfields from a takeover by the Soviet Union.

In return, the Gulf nations have offered aid to Egypt to help solve its economic difficulties.

However, obstacles still exist on the road toward the rapprochement between Egypt and the other Arab nations. While expressing the wish to mend fences with the other Arab nations, Egypt continues its commitment to the Camp David accords. Hence, some Arab moderates are taking a wait-and-see attitude to see what step Egypt takes next.

Saudi Arabia's ARAB NEWS said in an April 26 editorial about the withdrawal of Sinai that "Mubarak is in a better position to repair Egypt's bridge with the Arab states," but "it remains to be seen what developments will occur."

Syria and other Arab nations belonging to the rejection front that opposes negotiations between Egypt and Israel on Palestinian autonomy insist that Egypt should renounce the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. It seems that it will take a long time to remove these obstacles.

Mubarak, Numayri Talks

OW070300 Beijing XINHUA in English 0246 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Khartoum, May 6 (XINHUA)--Egyptian President Husni Mubarak, in an official visit to Sudan today, discussed with Sudanese President Ja'far Numayri the current situation in the Arab world following the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Sinai and ways and means to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries.

Speaking to reporters upon his arrival at Khartoum airport this morning, Mubarak said that Egypt welcomed the restoration of Arab unity and the proposal put forward by President Numayri on the convocation of an Arab summit conference with Egypt present.

At a press conference here today, President Numayri said that the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai makes Arab strategists or Arab leaders realize that a way has been paved for Arab unity.

"We feel that great changes have taken place in the view of many Arab state leaders on Egyptian activities which have led to the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. We wish this would become a strong impulse for the Arab people to urge their leaders to follow suit," he added.

Mubarak said, "President Numayri and the Sudanese people are standing and will still stand by our side. For the sake of our common cause, we will continue to support each other."

On the restoration of relations with other Arab countries, Mubarak said, "Egypt welcomes Arab brothers to make contacts with it at an appropriate time for them to restore relations with it."

According to a report from Cairo, Mubarak declared in Cairo today upon his return from his visit to Khartoum that he is not running after restoring relations with other Arab countries. "I am leaving every Arab country at its convenient time to join us," he said, "we did our best for solving the Middle East problem, so whenever they decide to join Egypt they are welcome."

Referring to Israeli Prime Minister Begin's remarks that Jerusalem should be one of the venues of the autonomy talks, the Egyptian President said that this is Begin's personal opinion. "We have our opinion. We didn't change completely," he added.

Egypt Protests USSR Stand

OW081350 Beijing XINHUA in English 1316 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] Cairo, May 8 (XINHUA)--Egypt declared that the Soviet Government's recent statement on the completion of Israeli withdrawal from Sinai was an attempt to cast doubt on the importance of this development. "It was timed to heighten the tension and disputes among the Arabs."

According to local papers today, Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egypt's permanent U.N. delegate, sent a message yesterday to U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, in answer to the Soviet statement issued by the Soviet delegate. The Egyptian message has been distributed to the U.N. members.

The message regretted that the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, should issue such a strong reaction against "the successful conclusion of an important phase of the Middle East peace process." It added that "the Israeli withdrawal was the direct application of the principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of land by force, a principle accepted by the Security Council including the Soviet Union."

The message added that the Soviet attempt to cast doubt on the liberation of Egyptian territory is bound to fail.

CSO: 4000/114

PARTY AND STATE

TREATMENT OF BACKWARD ELEMENTS DISCUSSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Tian Lin [3944 7202]: "Should the Backward Masses Be Represented?"]

[Text] Often in life we come across the kind of person who doesn't work hard, who loves to grumble and make cynical remarks, who speaks with twisted reasoning and makes unreasonable demands, and who nonetheless expects party members to report these things to party organizations, saying that they "must represent the masses." What should we think of this?

This is actually a question of whether or not "party members should represent the backward masses."

The answer to this is clear—Communist Party members cannot represent the backward masses. We in the Communist Party are the advanced elements of the proletariat and can only represent the progressive thinking of the advanced classes, embodying the basic interests of the broadest masses. As Communist Party members, in accordance with the aim of the party, we should closely unite with the masses, being in turn with their hearts, having a finger on their pulse, and listening attentively to their voices. But this is not to say that we must satisfy the demands of every one of the masses; or that all ideas coming from the masses are correct. Among the masses, there are those who are advanced, those who are in the middle, and those who are backward. Because they are dominated by old ideologies and consciousnesses, the ideas and demands raised by a small number of people are fundamentally backward, and even incorrect, being unsuited to the interests and desires of the majority of the masses. They cannot represent the masses, so how can we Communist Party members represent such backward ideas?

Of course, not everything said by the small number of ideologically backward persons is backward, not every idea they raise is incorrect. Although their thinking is a little backward and their work lags behind a bit, their views on certain questions are nonetheless on the right track, and some of their opinions, ideas and suggestions can be adopted. This requires patient listening and serious analysis—as long as they are correct ideas or suggestions, we should take them seriously and either adopt them or report them to higher levels. And in regard to incorrect ideas, we must patiently explain and do a good job of persuading and educating the person who raised the idea. This will not only help the work of the party, but at the same time can serve to bring out the positive aspects of the masses that are lagging behind.

to lead the masses forward." We Communist Party members can neither become "loners," separate from the masses, nor become the "tail" of the masses, but must keep our responsibility and glorious duty in mind and unite and work together with the greatest number of masses. We should get close to the small number of the backward masses and carry out patient and detailed ideological work. In regard to the backward ideas and opinions of some of them, we should not be tolerant, nor should we react excessively, but we should offer rational and gentle criticism, gradually leading them to recognize what is incorrect and where their mistakes lie. In the course of normal contacts, we should aid and direct them in learning a bit more Marxist-Leninist theory and in understanding dialectical materialism so as to broaden their ideology and outlook. If we Communist Party members fulfill our function in these areas, then the negative, backward elements among the masses can be turned into positive elements.

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PARTY AND STATE

STRICT PUNISHMENT FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES URGED

High-Level Involvement

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Liu Sheng [2692 4563]: "Serious Cases Should Be Strictly Punished According to the Law"]

[Text] Resolutely attacking crime in the economic sphere is not only an economic struggle but also a political struggle. In order to achieve a decisive victory in this struggle, it is necessary to give serious attention to important cases and mete out strict punishment according to the law. This so-called strict punishment refers to serious legal punishment. Only in this way is it possible to control criminals and instruct the people.

During this struggle we must stress solving serious economic crimes. Above all, we must earnestly investigate and punish those leading cadres who take part in major economic crimes. At the same time, we should mete out punishment for serious economic crimes committed in the past 2 years that are still outstanding. Once serious cases are settled, minor cases can be handled more efficiently. Many important economic cases are often linked to graft, embezzlement, bribery, and smuggling. Internal economic and social crimes are frequently interconnected with internal and external collaboration. Consequently, whenever economic crimes are rampant, social order is disrupted and industrial and agricultural production inevitably sustains damage. In order to stabilize social order at the basic level and to obtain long-term public security, it is necessary to firmly attack serious economic crimes. This is a requirement for rectifying party style, political style, and popular practices. It has an impact on the major problem of the rise or decline of the party and the nation.

Judicial practice shows that most cases of serious economic crimes involve party cadres and even leading cadres. Some of these people have instigated speculative activities either openly or secretly. Some have incited their relatives to participate in them and take a share of the spoils. Others have covered up their crimes and accepted bribes. All of this has brought about a serious loss in state and collective property and has presented obstacles to the readjustment of the national economy and market stability. It has also seriously damaged the prestige of the party and government among

the people, and it has encouraged evil trends in society. Therefore, in attacking economic crimes, we must first of all deal seriously with the important economic crimes of party cadres, especially leading cadres.

Crimes committed by state workers who take advantage of their positions often involve upper and lower levels and the Left and the Right. This creates many obstacles and difficulties in investigating and dealing with criminal cases. Thus, it is necessary for us to uphold the leadership of the party and support close cooperation between upper and lower levels and between Left and Right and make concerted efforts. During the struggle against serious economic crimes, regardless of how high the position of the criminal suspects, how great their power, or how thick their protective layer, we must continue to investigate thoroughly until everything is exposed. Facts concerning the crime must be thoroughly checked, and party, political and legal discipline must be meted out according the circumstances of each case.

Types of Speculative Activities

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Guansheng [3088 7070 3932]: "Crimes Involving Speculation"]

[Text] Speculation can be either a violation of administrative law or a criminal offense. One involves illegal practices in administrative management, while the other is a criminal offense requiring that someone be charged with responsibility for the crime. Speculation that violates administrative management refers to speculative activities in production, supply, transportation, and selling. They are relatively few in number, and the circumstances are not that serious. For example, someone may sell watered-down sesame oil or exchange eggs for noodle vouchers and then use the vouchers to buy vermicelli and sell it in the countryside or in rural markets at a high price. Practices such as these require disciplinary sanctions such as setting fines according to wholesale prices, confiscating property involved in illegal activities, confiscating part or all of that which is obtained through illegal means, being prevented from doing business, undergoing criticism and education, signing a statement of repentance, and other administrative disciplinary measures.

In the penal code, crimes involving speculation are dealt with in articles 117, 118, and 119. There are some speculative activities that are dealt with in administrative laws and regulations; examples of these are the seeking of profit, forgery, the sale of negotiable instruments from planned distribution for speculative profit, evasion of taxes and tariffs, counterfeiting of state currency, forgery of valuable securities, and counterfeiting of registered trademarks. None of these is a crime of speculation; they all constitute separate crimes. This is all clearly set out in Section 3 of the penal code on crimes concerning the undermining of social and economic order.

To be considered a crime of speculation in criminal law, a crime of speculation must fulfill the following three conditions. First, it must violate the laws and regulations concerning finance, foreign exchange, bullion, and

industrial and commercial management. Second, it must reap unlawful profits. Third, it must disrupt the market and subvert social and economic order, creating a grave situation. All of these conditions must be met. In judicial practice, crimes of speculation generally include the following types: 1) Forcing prices up to cause panic buying of goods for state-planned procurement, thus undermining state procurement plans. 2) Illegally selling industrial and agricultural production materials for speculative profit. 3) Speculative selling of bullion, foreign currency, jewelry, cultural relics, foreign goods, and expensive medicines. 4) Illegal purchases from state-run retail stores of commodities which are later resold at higher prices. 5) Individual resales at wholesale prices. 6) Reaping staggering profits through dealings on the blackmarket. 7) Hoarding and speculation so as to drive up commodity prices. 8) Cheating on workmanship and materials, mixing goods so as to misrepresent quality, and substituting fake for genuine articles. 9) Engaging in illegal buying and selling in the name of enterprises and public agencies, and defrauding people of their belongings. 10) Selling certificates, invoices, and contracts; substituting certificates, invoices, and contracts; providing bank accounts, checks, ready cash and greedily seeking illegal income from such [activity]; and so forth and so on.

At present, the nature of crimes of speculation is that there are many that include internal and external collaboration and many that involve gangs. In addition, there are many persons who engage in profiteering in the name of enterprises and public agencies, and many crimes of speculation are committed by commune-brigade enterprises. There also are numerous cases involving major crimes of speculation. For example, in Zhejiang there was a joint forestry, industrial, and commercial enterprise that falsely issued invoices so that they could receive a 20-percent commission. They charged up to 400,000 yuan a year. In Tianjin, a plant resold over 1,000 tons of industrial oil allocated by state planning at a profit. This involved over 50 units, and they reaped an illegal profit of more than 200,000 yuan. The reason for the success of speculation is closely tied to the unsound practices of cadres, particularly leading cadres. Some people describe the situation by saying: "In the past, cigarettes opened the way, rare wine built bridges, and chopsticks clinched a deal. Nowadays, bicycles open the way, triple-purpose machines build bridges, and television sets clinch a deal." Some cadres, particularly leading cadres, frequently give the green light to speculation.

In looking at the subject of crimes of speculation, in addition to those [involving] persons, quite a few are done in the name of units. Thus we must mete out economic sanctions against those units. When we impose prison sentences, we must investigate and charge the person in the unit who is directly responsible for the crime of engaging in speculation. In looking at the subjective aspects of the crime, speculation is necessarily done willfully. If it is unpremeditated, then it cannot be considered a crime of speculation.

Crimes involving speculation constitute a large proportion of economic crimes. Consequently, criminal speculative activities must be given widespread attention. There must be comprehensive regulation in every area such as rectifying party style, correcting unsound practices in society, establishing and strengthening rules and regulations, and plugging loopholes. Only by doing this can we effectively check and prevent such crimes.

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO TRAINING OF TECHNICAL CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 3

[Article: "Shandong Provides Rotational Training for Cadres"]

[Text] Since the beginning of 1979, Shandong Province has adopted an overall plan authorizing units at all levels to broaden the avenue of education for cadres at all levels and in all trades and to train them on a rotational basis. Thus far, more than 590,000 cadres throughout the province have graduated from such training classes.

This training has proved instrumental in helping cadres raise their political consciousness, theoretical levels of economics, and levels of professional skills and management. Two responsible leading cadres at the Jinan Machine Tools Plant No 4 are now able to run the business in accordance with the economic laws after attending economic and enterprise management training sponsored by the Shandong Provincial Industrial Cadre School. After returning to their plant, they have led technical cadres and management personnel to visit consumers and to survey and acquaint themselves with the needs of society. Last year, they helped their plant trial-produce 11 new varieties of equipment, including yarn twisting and spinning machines, and automatic assembly lines for sewing machine bobbins, along with 133 sets of specially designed equipment for light textile industry. In this way, they have helped their plant solve problems caused by slumps in contract orders and put it in a better position to spur the development of light textile industry. After attending the training class for cadres sponsored by the Shandong Provincial Agricultural Commission, Wu Gongxing [0702 0361 5281], deputy head of the Weifang Administrative Office, has begun a search for answers to problems related to the soil fertilization and promotion of high-yielding seed strains, and has come up with reasonable proposals to cross-breed the high-yield seed strains of wheat and other crops, to plant them in soil suitable to their growth, and to use improved methods to plant them along with measures to improve the application of fertilizer. These proposals have proved instrumental in overcoming the tendency to direct production from the subjective point of view and in promoting the scientific farming method. Technical cadres, who have graduated from the Jining Prefectural Scientific and Technological Commission-sponsored training in heat disposal, electronics and foundry, are now able to apply their newly acquired technology, techniques and theories to research and have come up with new findings in 36 categories, 11 of which have been put to good use and have led

enterprises concerned to save a large amount of capital. Shandong Province has scheduled its training program for cadres in the following ways: (1) Party and cadre schools at all levels, and other training centers for cadres are encouraged to enhance their role in the course of training leading cadres at all levels and management cadres; (2) various colleges and middle and vocational schools will be assigned to use their facilities and teaching staff to give outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres special training or education in politics, culture and various trades; (3) technical cadres will be organized to devote their spare time to study or they will be encouraged to take leave from work to attend training classes and study new techniques, new theories and new technologies in connection with scientific research and production; (4) short-term training classes will be planned in a way that takes into account the needs of various technical projects. For example, the comprehensive training in economic accounting and quality control, sponsored by the departments of industry and communications, and the training in field management of cotton crops and desalinization technology sponsored by the Department of Agriculture are being scheduled for this purpose.

Many prefectures and departments in Shandong Province have concentrated on strengthening training bases and contingents of teachers and on improving their teaching programs. Zaozhuang Municipality has turned "abandoned" or production-suspended factories into municipal industrial cadre schools, capital construction cadre schools and public security cadre schools. Four county and district cadre schools have sprung up in Zaozhuang Municipality along with permanent training centers for cadres. Today, Shandong Province has 176 cadre schools of all kinds and at all levels, which represent an increase of 40 since 1980. Party and government organizations at all levels and administrative departments have assigned responsible leading cadres to take charge of the training programs for cadres and have set up administrative offices for this purpose. Many units have instituted examination and educational systems and systems designed to train and place cadres in jobs. Their aim is to ensure the smooth development of the training programs for cadres.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO SEPARATE ACADEMIC RESEARCH FROM POLITICS URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 2 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Zhong [3769 0022], dean of a branch school of Fudan University and director and professor of its Journalism Department: "What is the Key Step in the Direction of Stimulating the Enthusiasm of Intellectuals?"]

[Text] During the past several years, vast numbers of intellectuals have seen their political status soaring to a new high and living conditions improve remarkably as a result of the thorough implementation of the party's policy for intellectuals. Although intellectuals, and especially social scientists, consider political status and living condition important to them, what really matters most to them is an environment in which their intellectual authority is respected and their professional skills can be put to good use, an environment that can truly boost their morale. Confucius said: (Yan) Hui always enjoyed his life with a single bamboo dish of rice and a single gourd dish of drink and with a shelter located in a narrow and shabby lane. What matters most to a dedicated intellectual is a stable environment in which he can concentrate on academic research and devote his energy for the rest of his life to enhancing the scientific programs of his motherland. Out of this desire has emerged the problem of separating academic research from politics. If no satisfactory answer can be found to this problem, a social scientific worker will find it difficult to emancipate his mind and to press ahead courageously with his scientific research work. This being the case, we will find it difficult to bring his initiative into "full" play.

In the past when scientific research was not separated from politics, our attention was frequently drawn to the volatile situation in which the "double-hundred" policy could be proclaimed today and replaced tomorrow by the assertion that "any academic problem is a political problem," thus causing confusion among the people. The political reason notwithstanding, this situation was caused by a tendency to ignore differences between academic research and politics. We must understand that when we engage a social scientific worker in a specific academic study, we cannot force him to come up with conclusions completely identical with our political lines in a given period of time or beyond. This is one point. The second point is that the so-called political problem is practically a problem that needs to be resolved by political means. To this end, those in political positions should take timely action to reflect and assess the complex actual situation before coming up with relevant principles and policies. True, there are problems to which perfectly correct

answers cannot be found because objective reality cannot allow the search for their solution to remain in the stage of "research" forever, and necessary steps should be taken to resolve them through a voting process in which the opinion of the majority prevails over the minority. Once a relevant decision is made, it can still be continuously revised through its implementation until it becomes perfect. But academic research is a different story and its outcome is unpredictable. For this reason, a researcher cannot be pushed to make hasty conclusions on any given subject of study, nor can he be expected to be free from faulty conclusions. Even when the research project is halfway through, he may err. We should never feel surprised by such an outcome which will have no adverse effect on the formulation and implementation of our current political policies. As long as he promises not to involve his work in any antiparty and antisocialist political activities, he should be allowed to promote his particular school of thought, and develop his own style of work despite its shortcomings and imperfections. Academic research is a problem that cannot be handled in the same way as a political problem which can be resolved through a voting process in which the opinion of the majority prevails over the minority. A correct answer to an academic problem can be gradually made possible only through a debate in conformity with the "double-hundred" policy which has been proved completely correct by both positive and negative experiments. No one should be surprised by the fact that debates on many academic issues that have gone on for decades or even centuries remain inconclusive today.

Academic research and politics are actually related. There have been times when academic interests did not go hand-in-hand or even conflicted with political interests. This is why greater efforts should be made to insure strict separation of academic research from politics. Painful lessons drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution" prove that a political situation of stability and unity is essential to the realization of this goal. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the party Central Committee has endeavored to bring order out of chaos on all fronts and has continued to acquaint the people with the party's "double-hundred" policy. Science is essential to socialism even as socialism is essential to science. Only under the current political conditions can academic research be truly separated from politics.

But we must understand that the reason for separation of academic research from politics remains a fundamental problem incomprehensible to comrades who tend to prejudge everything recklessly and even want to make stereotyped "leftist" dogmatism applicable everywhere. There are also comrades who have trod the beaten path too long and have developed a habit of putting academic research on the same level with politics. This is why the problem of how to find ways to separate academic research from politics should be discussed right now. If this problem can be handled correctly by our party as a whole, we are confident of our ability to avoid the mistake of regarding academic problems as political problems which occurred during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and even earlier. Only in this way can we renew our fundamental pledge to implement the party's policy for intellectuals and make maximum efforts to boost the morale of intellectuals dedicated to scientific research. I would also like to suggest that details on how to separate academic research from politics be discussed through public debates so that everyone can air his views.

PARTY AND STATE

NATIONAL INTEREST RELATIONSHIP TO LOCAL INTEREST DEFINED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by Xie Fei [6200 7236]: "Take the Interest of the Whole Into Consideration"]

[Text] In our country, there is no conflict of basic interest between national and local authorities. In other words, the basic interest of the state coincides with that of enterprises although they may have disputes over specific issues from time to time. In the event of such disputes, how should they be settled? Local authorities should obey their national authority and should consider the situation as a whole. The Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No 28 is an enterprise known for its sound economic accounting system. By giving first consideration to the national interest and putting its own interest second, it has made efforts to increase the output of items in great demand in world markets, but which are not very profitable to itself. It has been suggested that every enterprise should give first consideration to the national interest in running the business, and even if it runs the risk of economic losses, it should meet the demands of the national authority and serve the national interest. This spirit of considering the situation as a whole is worthy of admiration.

All activities of the nation should be planned in much the same way as a chess game is played. There should be coordination between an across the board overall strategy and specific tactics. As long as the overall strategy is sound, specific tactics can be easily worked out. If the overall strategy is on the defensive, tactical offensives cannot possibly be expected. If we fail to pay attention to the national interest, the collective interest will be forgotten. This is why the local interest cannot be placed above the national interest why the national interest cannot be ignored in dealing with the local interests. There are people interested only in promoting their local interests at the expense of the national interest. In doing so, they often contend that "by doing so, I have nothing to gain personally": Departmentalism is actually an extension of individualism. Although it differs in nature from practices of embezzlement and corruption, its disruptive effect on the situation as a whole is so great that it may cause serious damage to the socialist cause.

Of course, the national interest represents and draws its strength from various local interests. Aware of this fact, the national authority should take care of local authorities on the premise that it will go out of existence without their support. But at present, our primary task is to encourage the people to pay attention to the interest of the whole and consider the situation as a whole. There are enterprises whose only interest is making profits. They never want to risk their resources for projects that promise no profits. But they tend to forget that as long as they can do a good job, they can turn an unprofitable business into a lucrative enterprise. As a result of efforts, the Shanghai Cotton Textile Mill No 28 has succeeded in turning a plan with a projected loss of 1.97 million yuan into one that has produced a profit of 800,000 yuan! Liu Bei of the Three Kingdoms once said: "Don't do anything that you think will cause the least damage to us; nor should you turn down any assignment that you think will bring us a profit even one too small to be considered worthwhile." We should never do harm to the national authority however small that harm might be; we should do everything beneficial to the national authority no matter how small the benefits will be.

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PARTY AND STATE

PEOPLE'S CONGRESS ENCOURAGES 'COMMON CAUSE' IN CONSTRUCTION

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "With Common Heart and Cause, Construct the Capital"]

[Text] The Sixth Session of the Seventh Beijing People's Congress fully completed establishing each item of the agenda for the future and successfully concluded yesterday. The Fifth Session of the Fifth Municipal Political Consultative Conference which was held concurrently also concluded yesterday. During the meetings, people's representatives from every battlefield in the city and committee members from each democratic party and every area of society, with the demeanors of major dramatic protagonists and the serious spirit of seeking the truth, heard and considered various work reports of the municipal government, the Standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress, the Municipal Political Consultative Conference and the municipal people's court and procuratorate affirming that there had been new developments in the last year in the work on every front, offering numerous constructive criticisms and suggestions, and determining the struggle tasks in the coming year for all the people of the city. We wish to express our enthusiastic congratulations for the complete successes achieved at these two meetings! We certainly must resolutely carry out the spirit of the meetings and, with common heart and cause, struggle to construct the capital.

Common heart refers to uniting our ideology to achieve a single common goal. The goal is that raised by the Central Committee of the party of constructing socialist material and spiritual civilizations. In regard to the municipality of Beijing, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party issued four clear directives concerning the principles for construction in the capital in accordance with the position and special nature of Beijing. These four directives are in complete accord with the demand for construction of the two civilizations and represent the basic interests of the broad people. Practice has proven that if all our hearts are directed toward this ideal and all our efforts are in this direction, then progress in every item of work will be rapid and the masses will be happy. In the past year, the work of Beijing has gradually been set on the track of the four directives of the Central Committee of the party, and party style, social customs and the work on every front has seen greater improvement than in the previous few years. The political and economic situations throughout the city are very good. From now on, we must continue to unify our ideology and unswervingly proceed toward our goal.

Common cause refers to having a common moral standard. This morality can only be communist morality. Communist morality is the core of a socialist spiritual civilization. Its primary elements are the advocacy of collectivist principles and the work ethic of a heroic figure. Only by advocating a communist ethic can we overcome the tendencies toward individualism and anarchism that were rampant during the 10 years of unrest; can we resist the encroachment of bourgeois ideology and lifestyle; can we correctly uphold and implement the line, principles, and policies established since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee; can we bring into play the initiative of the cadres and masses in work and production to the greatest extent; and can we, under the unified leadership of the party and the government, unify and coordinate the strength of every department and unit and achieve the best economic results. In accordance with the special nature of the capital and pressing needs at present, our city must give top priority to the construction of a spiritual civilization. Every unit must uphold the principle of ideology leading, and strengthen ideological and political work. The Civilized Manners Month campaign launched in March has already made a good start in the areas of curing "filth," "disorder," and "impropriety." We must work hard to normalize and systematize the "Five Stress and Four Points of Beauty" campaign and to continue it in a long term and penetrating way.

Beijing is the capital of the People's Republic of China. The quality of her construction not only has a direct influence on the interests of the people of Beijing, but affects the hearts of the billion persons throughout the nation and is involved with the reputation of our nation around the world. Every comrade who lives and works in Beijing should look to the responsibility he shoulders and share the nation's burdens. At present, there is a lively forward moving momentum in the work in Beijing. But the situation is still far from that demanded by the Central Committee of the party and the people throughout the nation and the city. We must see clearly that there are many problems and difficulties that await our solution. We cannot solve these problems quickly in a single breath. But, to make progress in the construction of the capital every year, every month, and even every day is something we should be able to achieve. We have the leadership and the concern of the Central Committee of the party and the State Council and the support of all areas of the country. Our foundation is relatively good. If we only work with common heart and common cause and in a down to earth manner, we can certainly see greater accomplishments in the new year ahead.

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY BRANCH REELECTION WORK REPORTED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 82 p 1

[Article: "More Than 30,000 Party Branches Throughout the City Are Separately Carrying Out New General Elections—Strengthen the Building of Party Organizations at the Basic Level, See To It That Party Style Turns for the Better"]

[Text] According to the plan of the municipal CCP committee, more than 30,000 basic level party branches throughout the city are separately and at different times carrying out new general elections. Up to the present, more than 22,000 branches, 60 percent of the total number, have already finished or are now carrying out this work.

The party branches which are holding the new general elections are doing so after the party committees (party cells) of every district, county and bureau had universally carried out pilot programs. In the course of carrying things out, the party committees at every level strengthened categorical guidance. The majority of party branches were being attentive to fostering democracy, listening to the opinions of the masses and carrying out criticism and self-criticism. The majority of the more than 13,000 branches that have already concluded this work have had good results.

Leading comrades on the municipal CCP committee have attached great importance to the new general branch elections, from getting a hold on the pilot programs to carrying out the individual elections. On a number of occasions they heard reports by each branch committee of the municipal committee and by districts, counties and bureaus, and they stressed that doing well in new general branch election work is important for thoroughly implementing the 4 directives of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party and for strengthening the building of basic level party organizations, and is an important step in securing a great turn for the better in party style and in furthering the construction of spiritual and material civilizations. The party committees at every level must certainly do well in this work, actually strengthening leadership, upholding high standards, and not merely going through the motions. All new general branch election work will be concluded at the end of April.

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PARTY AND STATE

'RULE BY LAW' VERSUS 'RULE BY MAN'

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [STUDY OF LAW] in Chinese No 1, 82 pp 6-11

[Article by Li Buyun [2621 2975 0061]: "The Scientific Nature of the Concept of Rule by Law"]

[Text] In the present debate over the question of rule by law and rule by man, some comrades put forward the idea that this concept of the rule by law is not scientific. They say it has a one-sided nature and conflicts with the four basic principles, also that there is no need to pay attention to the rule by law since we are already concerned with the legal system. They suggest therefore we abandon this "rule by law" concept. In our opinion this viewpoint is open to question.

Is the "Rule by Law" Concept of a Scientific Nature?

Some comrades are of the opinion that the rule by law concept was advanced by the exploiting classes and that it is a "classless" or "supraclass" viewpoint, therefore it should be rejected. This argument is untenable. There are many terms and concepts by which the exploiting classes obliterated or concealed their class nature, but that did not stop Marxists from revealing the true class-dependency of these terms and concepts and of assigning to them their class implication. To determine whether a term or concept has a class nature, one must not merely look at its wording. The question is rather how people interpret them and apply them. For instance, "democracy" as a word has no class nature, the proletariat can use the word and the exploiting classes can also use it. In history there was the democracy of slaveholders in Athens, there were bourgeois democracies, and now we have our socialist democracy. No exploiting class will admit that democracy is of a class nature, it is only the Marxists who believe that democracy has a class nature. It is the same with the term "rule by law." The rule by law proposed by Aristotle was a rule by the law of the slaveholder class. The rule by law proposed by Han Fei and Shang Yang was the rule by law of the newly arisen landlord class. The rule by law proposed by men like Locke and Rousseau was the rule by law of the Bourgeoisie. What we are today advocating is the socialist rule by law. The concept of the rule by law that we are using today has of course a certain sequential relationship to the rule by law concepts that existed before throughout history, but this sequence is not one of indiscriminate copying, by an essential succession. The points where the socialist rule by law is

descended from the rule by law of the exploiting classes of the past and where it has certain features in common with it, is that it is a theory, principle and method of governing the state. All proponents of the rule by law more or less emphasize the following: A country must formulate a fairly comprehensive set of laws to serve as behavioral norms for its people; everybody, including the highest leaders of the country, must obey the law and conduct affairs strictly according to law; everybody is equal before the law. The differences between the various types of rule by law are, primarily, due to the substantial difference in the classes. The differences are determined, basically, by the class nature of the laws themselves. Since laws manifest the will and interests of the different classes, the rule by law instituted by the different classes always favors maintaining the interests of its own class and favors strengthening the political control of its own class. Secondly, there is a difference among the different types of rule by law in their specific content and degree of realization. For instance, the rule by law in modern times is inseparably linked with democracy, and the rule by law of feudalism is bonded into one entity with the autocratic monarchy. The division of the three powers is an important feature advocated by the bourgeois rule by law, while the feudal rule by law combines all three great powers, legislative, judiciary and executive, in the one person of the ruler. Regarding the principles of conducting all affairs strictly according to law, the equality of all men before the law, etc., the rule by law practiced in different historical eras varied greatly in the degree to which these principles were carried out. In brief, the concept of rule by law is not at all a "classless" or "supraclass" viewpoint. Provided we subject the concept of rule by law and its application to a scientific analysis and give it the theoretical interpretation that conforms to the objective realities, the class nature of the concept of rule by law will become very clear and there will be no misunderstanding about it; we are indeed fully justified in using this concept.

Some comrades have expressed the idea that although we lay great stress on the functions of industry, science, etc., it would be hardly possible to speak of "rule by industry" or "rule by science." We also place great importance on the effectiveness of the army, but we would hardly speak of a "rule by military." It would therefore also be unscientific to propose "rule by law." In our opinion the above is an inappropriate analogy and conclusion, because law is quite different in nature and characteristics from industry, science and the military. Law is the concentrated manifestation of the will of the ruling class; it is determined by the state (or approved by it), its implementation is ensured by the power of the state and it consists of norms that must be observed strictly by the people in all their activities. The expressions "rule the country by means of law" and "relying on law in ruling the country" (that is, rule by law) mean nothing else than the attachment of the greatest importance to the exercise of law as a norm for all behavior, and furthermore the administration of the state strictly according to the provisions of the law. Because the law has the above-mentioned special character and features, it is quite appropriate and scientific to speak of "ruling the country by means of the law" and "relying on law in ruling the country." It is precisely as Comrade Ye Jianying said: "our country shall enjoy perfect order, that is why we must have a constitution to govern our country." ("Report on the Revision of the Constitution") The constitution is the highest set of rules that regulate the governing process of the country, and the criminal law, civil law, civil procedure law, organizational law, administrative law,

election law, economic law, labor law, marriage law, etc., are the concrete regulations to take care of various aspects in the governing of the country. The conditions of industry, education, military affairs, etc., are quite different from law. They don't have the regulatory features like the law which everybody has to obey, and also they do not have the special features of the law which has to be carried out uniformly in political, economic, cultural, educational, military and other respects. It is therefore not possible to advocate the "rule of the country by industry" or "rule of the country by military affairs." Some comrades bypass this primary difference in character and features of law as compared with industry, science and military affairs, but merely seize only on the one point that they all have their functions on governing the country, and it is obviously inappropriate therefore to draw the conclusion that "rule by law" is unscientific because it is not scientific to propose the principle of "rule the country by means of military affairs."

Some comrades have put forward the idea that the term "rule by law" is of a "one-sided nature," because it shuts out the function of the state power, of ideological work, of moral education, or production relations..., in brief, the term merely affirms the function of the legal system to the exclusion of everything else, thus it is advocating the "omnipotence of law." This argument, we believe, is incorrect.

Viewed from a theoretical angle, every concept has its specific meaning, its specific concrete content, its specific sphere of application, its specific social function, and one must not ask that it cover everything and represent everything. For instance, "strengthen the socialist democracy, perfect the socialist legal system" are basic policies determined by the party at the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, but this demand tries to solve the problem of only one aspect in the area of the superstructure. When the proposal is for "building socialism with a high degree of spiritual civilization" as the objective of the struggle, it is putting forward demands concerning a different aspect, it is emphasizing the important significance and effect of spiritual civilization on the construction of the state. On the analogy of this, there are also such policies as "self-reliance," "let a hundred flowers bloom," "let a hundred schools of thought contend," etc.; each of these has its scientific significance and sphere of functions. If we call these formulations "one-sided in nature," because each emphasizes only one aspect of a matter, or of the important function and meaning of a question, this would obviously be incorrect. If we emphasize rule by law, it does not mean that apart from law there is nothing else to be used in the governing of a country and that exercising law is the only method of governing a country. In actual fact, during the 3 years, since our party and state advocated rule by law, the majority of our people have correctly understood the basic meaning implied in the concept of rule by law and gained a good grasp of it. No one has concluded that the function of man is therefore unimportant, or that ethics and education are unimportant, that developing production and improving production relations are unimportant. As to the minority of comrades who really have only a one-sided understanding of the concept of rule by law, who believe that it is only necessary to have laws, rules and regulations to be able to solve all problems, the occurrence of this

kind of a mentality is probably due to our insufficient correct explanation and propaganda on the theoretical side of the concept of rule by law. It is a problem in the area of our work, and not at all due to any "one-sidedness" of the concept itself.

Viewed from the angle of practical experience, rejecting the rule by law and instituting instead a rule by man would make it quite impossible for the country's leading personalities to function properly and effectively. The grim realities of the "Great Cultural Revolution" are a proof of this. Opposed to this, if our state had rejected rule by man and instead carried out rule by law, the overall situation would have been completely different. The situation prior to the 1957 anti-Rightist campaign and following the 1976 smashing of the "gang of four" are excellent illustrations of this.

Is There Conflict Between Rule by Law and Insistence on the Four Basic Principles?

Some comrades believe that rule by law must not be adopted because it conflicts with our insistence on the four basic principles, the mainstay of our way of governing the state. We believe that this opinion is open to question. The effective government of a state involves many aspects, political, economic, cultural, etc.; the question is extremely complex. "Rule by law" is only one particular principle in governing the state, and it does not at all mean that there is only this one principle for the way a state is governed. Upholding the socialist road, upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the leadership of the party, upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, are the four basic principles by which we govern our state. However, "governing the state according to law" by no means conflicts with our insistence on the four basic principles. Whether we look at it from the theoretical or the practical angle, exercising rule by law is highly beneficial for sustaining the four basic principles. If we were to have rule by man, that would be utterly damaging for the thorough implementation of the four basic principles.

Carrying on government by law is closely bound up with the question of upholding the socialist road. In 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong, speaking on the principle of having a constitution for our country, pointed out: "There are basically two principles, one is the principle of democracy and the other the principle of socialism." He also said: "Adopting this form of a constitution, that is, a great basic law, will consolidate the principles of people's democracy and socialism, will delineate a clear path for the people of the entire nation, will have the people of the entire nation perceive that there is a clear and correct road along which to advance, and thus will raise the enthusiasm of all the people throughout the nation."* The basic principle of our constitutional law which Chairman Mao mentions is also the one basic principle of the socialist legal system of our country. Upholding the socialist path runs like

*"Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5 pp 127, 129.

a red thread through the entire legal system and institutions of our country. Socialist law is an important tool for the construction, consolidation and development of the socialist production relations. In our country, socialist law has already been of service in expropriating the landlords and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, in building up the socialist state-run economy and collective economy, and in restricting, utilizing and transforming capitalist industrial and commercial enterprises, and in the socialist transformation of the handicraft industry. After the fundamental completion of the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production, the outstanding function of the legal system in protecting the production relations, the socialist public ownership, the principle of "each according to his ability and to each according to this work," and in protecting the reasonable relationships of man to man within the socialist production, received uninterrupted consolidation, development and perfection; that is, protection of the socialist production relations and public property from any encroachment. The creation and development of the socialist economic system is ruled by its own objective law. Correctly to recognize and control this law, we should rely merely on the wisdom of the whole party and entire people. Only by relying on this kind of collective wisdom in striving to attain the scientific knowledge of continuous development and perfection of the socialist production relations and to have law and institutions become the norm for the thoughts and actions of the whole party and people, only in this manner will we ensure our state's healthy advance along the socialist path. Actual accomplishment of this objective is only possible through an effective rule by law. If our country did not practice rule by law, if it were to become a state where laws would not be considered essential, where the application of existing laws would be considered optional and where all affairs would depend on the words of a small number of leaders, then the country could not possibly advance smoothly along the socialist road.

Practicing the socialist rule by law and upholding the people's democratic dictatorship (that is, dictatorship of the proletariat) are also two inter-dependent things that complement each other. Their mutual relationship could be summarized as follows. The people's democratic dictatorship determines the character and content of the socialist rule by law, and the socialist rule by law, on the other hand, is an effective means of realizing the people's democratic dictatorship. The people's democratic dictatorship comprises the two aspects of democracy for the people and dictatorship over the enemies. To practice "relying on law to govern the country" is beneficial for the development of the people's democracy as it is also beneficial for the strengthening of the dictatorship over the enemies. After having led the broad masses of the people in seizing power and gaining democracy, the proletariat must employ the socialist legal system to affirm the fruits of victory, and to safeguard, consolidate and further develop them. The people need law in the first place for the sake of protecting their own democratic rights. Under socialism, the effective guarantee and full development of people's democracy requires such tools and methods as propaganda and education, moral standards, the policies of the party, etc., but of particular significance is the utilization of the law and institutions, because law has the specific characteristics of serving as a norm for all action, of being the will of the state, of being compulsory in its execution, which are specific

characteristics not found, or not all found, in ideological education, moral standards and party policies. It is precisely through these special characteristics that the legal system exercises its function of guaranteeing the people's democracy. Only by affirming, paragraph by paragraph, item by item, all aspects of socialist democracy and the rights and freedoms of the citizens in the Constitution and in all the other various laws, having them clearly articulated, rendered concretely and standardized, will the masses clearly recognize what democratic rights they will after all enjoy, only then will the initiative of the masses be fully mobilized and only then can they be guided correctly to employ their rights to govern their own state. With regard to the state organs of all levels and the broad masses of cadres, only by institutionalizing democracy and firmly establishing it in law, can their work find legal provisions to rely on and regulations to follow; only then will they have clear and concrete knowledge of how they themselves must foster people's democracy, how they must carry on their activities according to the principle of a system of collective democracy, how they are to observe the democratic rights of the people; what democratic work style they themselves must show and how to rely and depend on the broad masses in order to perform well in their various fields of work. At the same time, as soon as democracy is institutionalized and established in law, the fostering of people's democracy will also become the will of the state, which each unit and each individual, without exception, must comply with and carry out. Whosoever does harm to socialist democracy is violating the will of the state. The state and the people can then use the compulsory power of the law to prosecute any act that violates democracy and inflict various kinds of punishment. All this explains that the development of a people's democracy is impossible without the rule by law.

Again, looking at it from the angle of strengthening the dictatorship over the enemy, it is only through government by law that it will be possible to apply strictly a well-developed set of laws and institutions to spot, accurately and effectively, the enemy and to attack, punish and transform him. In meting out punishment to the enemy we must proceed according to the procedure prescribed by law, and our action must be accurate as well as legal. The lessons of our experiences since the establishment of our government make it quite clear that there is a close link between whether rule by law is carried out in a country and its ab'ility to maintain a people's democratic dictatorship.

Practicing rule by law is also closely linked with adherence to the principle of guidance by the party. Ruling the country by law requires the guidance of the party, and guidance of the party can best be carried out through governing the country by law. Socialist law has been formulated under the guidance of the party; it is the fixed, standardized and articulated lines, principles and policies of the party. The party makes and implements the laws through its guidance of the state's legislative, judicial and administrative organs, and elevates what is only the will of a class to become the will of the state, furthermore using the state's compulsory force to ensure implementation of the laws. The effect is precisely a consolidation and strengthening of the party's guidance, and certainly not a downgrading or weakening of the leadership of the party. Our party is the party in power; its leadership position received recognition and guarantee in our Constitution.

Article 2 of our Constitution stipulates: "The CCP is the core of the leadership of the Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership of the country through its vanguard, the Communist Party." Anyone who opposes the leadership of the party therefore also violates the Constitution. However, if there would be no laws to determine the party's guidance of the state in clear, concrete and specific terms, the party would not be in a position to do a good job of guiding the state. Chairman Mao said: "As any association must have its statutes, so must the state have its statutes."* The constitution is indeed the chief statute for the government of a country, and the various particular laws are specific regulations for the government of the country. Only with a very perfect and highly authoritative set of regulations to govern the country can the party in its leadership of the masses in governing the country increase political consciousness and foresight and reduce blindness and capriciousness, increase stability and avert instability, and only then can there be a guarantee that the entire large and complex machinery of the state will run accurately and effectively along a common track. Ruling a country by law makes strict demands on every party organization and individual, from the president of the Central Committee down to each single ordinary party member, that all affairs are conducted by them strictly according to law so as to have a uniform and strict implementation of all laws. This is not rejecting or weakening the leadership of the party, but rather a system that will safeguard and strengthen the party's leadership.

The party must arm the entire nation with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to employ these ideologies to direct and guide work on all fronts. However, Marxism is not law and cannot take the place of the socialist legal system. Kang Sheng [1660 3932], a prominent figure in the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, screamed, what of all this law and that law, "Marxism is the fundamental great law." This is absurd in the extreme. Marxism is a kind of scientific truth, it is something belonging in the field of ideology. To have the people accept Marxism, we must use propaganda and education, but we cannot use coercive methods to make people believe in Marxism. With law it is different; law is the will of the ruling class elevated into the will of the state, and the state's coercive power ensures its execution. It is norm for actions that must be obeyed by everyone. Anyone violating the law and committing a crime will be punished. Marxism and the socialist legal system are therefore things of two different categories that must not be mixed up. It is also absolutely inadmissible to have Marxism take the place of socialist law. Those who believe that since we have the guidance of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, it is not necessary to have socialist law, are utterly wrong. If we say that one cannot force people to believe in Marxism, it does not mean in the least that one should allow people wnatonly to slander and attack Marxism, because these are two questions completely different in character and the two must not be mixed up. Article 2, paragraph 2, of our Constitution stipulates: "The guiding ideology of the PRC is Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought." This provision of the Constitution is absolutely justified and unshakable. Anyone who intends to disturb this provision is entering an extremely dangerous path.

*"Selected Works of Mao Zedong" Vol 5 p 129.

Marxism has been the guiding ideology in the formulation and implementation of our Constitution and of the various specific laws, including the criminal law, civil law, procedural laws, economic law, marriage law, etc. Governing the country by law can by no means downgrade or weaken the position and function of Marxism, but is rather apt to further consolidate and safeguard its position in the governing of the state and raise and enhance its function in the revolution and in construction. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are the scientific summation of the practical experience in the people's revolutions, as they are also the theoretical weapons that we may use in guiding the people in the realities of the revolutionary struggle. Under the guidance of Marxism and on the basis of the summation of practical experiences, laws, regulations and rules were formulated on various aspects, such as politics, economics, culture, education, military affairs, foreign relations, etc., to serve as norms for all actions of the people, and obedience by everybody, high and low, to these norms was assured, so that the great function of Marxism may assert its role more accurately, more comprehensively and more effectively in guiding the people's revolutionary struggle and practice of socialist construction. In contrast, if one were not to adopt the rule of law, but the rule of man, if there were no laws to follow or no reliance on laws where such exist, and if all affairs would depend on the words of a small number of leaders, it would result in great damage to the guiding function of Marxism in the people's revolutionary struggle and in the practice of socialist construction. The positive and negative experiences since the founding of our government have taught us this truth and have fully proved this point.

The above analysis clearly shows us that upholding the four basic principles is the basic guiding ideology in implementing socialist rule by law, provides the political foundation for the socialist rule by law and points out the direction of our advance. Implementing government of the country by law is an important method and reliable guarantee for the upholding of the four basic principles. It is obviously not right to place the two, the "upholding of the four basic principles" and the "implementation of socialist rule by law" into a position of opposition to each other.

Why Can "Legal System" Not Take the Place of "Rule by Law"?

Some comrades point out that since we have already raised the proposal of "perfecting the socialist legal system," we do not need to pose again the demand for "implementation of a socialist rule by law." In our opinion this argument cannot be upheld, because "legal system" and "rule by law," although both somehow connected, are two different concepts and should not be mixed up. The concept "rule by law" has functions that cannot be taken up by the concept "legal system."

What then is the legal system? Our jurists are just debating this question and have not yet arrived at a uniform opinion. Although viewpoints are not altogether uniform, there is one point everybody can accept and that is that "legal system" refers to a system of legal controls. Every country in every period of time has had its particular legal system. In the past there was

the legal system of the slaveholder class, the legal system of the feudal class, the bourgeois legal system and the socialist legal system. The so-called legal system comprises the various laws and also the various systems concerned with the making, implementation and observance of laws. The former comprises the constitution and the criminal law, civil law, procedural laws, marriage and family laws, administrative law and labor law, the latter comprises the legislative system and the judicial system. Within the judicial system there are the trial system, the procuratorial system, lawyer system, reform through labor system, etc. Within the trial system there are the public trial system, the collegiate system, the jury system, the system of exemption due to partiality, the system of defense in court, etc. Apart from these, there are still other principles governing the legal system running through its entirety, such as the principle of democracy, of equality of independence of the judiciary, the principle of humaneness, etc. What we call "legal system" is therefore nothing but the collective term for the above-mentioned laws and systems. The concept of a legal system includes many things and is very extensive. When we usually say that "the socialist legal system is to be perfected" we mean to include here all these laws and systems.

Rule by law is something different from the legal system. The difference between the two concepts is primarily evident in the following: First, the legal system belongs in the category of systems. It is in the same category and the same set of concepts as the country's political system, system of state institutions, economic system, military system, cultural system, educational system, etc., and is spoken of relative to all these systems. "Rule by law" is different. It is a kind (and only one kind) of theory, principle and method of government. It is spoken of relative to "rule by man," which is another theory, principle and method of government. In political and legal ideology or in jurisprudence, in the past as well as at present, the two concepts always appear as antithetical. Legal system and rule by law are therefore concepts that belong to two different categories. Second, the evidence of implementation of the rule by law is that a country will have fairly perfect laws and institutions and will place special emphasis on the fact that the laws must be obeyed by every state organ, social group or individual citizen, including the highest leaders of the country, and that all affairs must be conducted strictly in accordance with law. This is the most basic meaning of this concept of rule by law. The two concepts, legal system and rule by law, are quite different in what they comprise and what they cover. Third, every country at any time in history has had its legal system, but not necessarily rule by law. A country in which the theory, principle and method of rule by man occupies a dominant and controlling position will still have its particular legal system. Evidently, legal system and rule by law are two different concepts, each has its own particular scientific meaning and each also has its special social function. The two must not be equated and they also cannot replace each other.

Of course this does not mean to say that there is no connection at all between the two concepts, the rule by law and the legal system; they are indeed closely linked. Strictly speaking, advancing the theory, principle and method of rule by law for the government of a country is to give direct service to the establishment, strengthening and perfection of a certain legal system. The establishment, strengthening and development of the socialist

legal system requires various correct theories and principles as its guiding ideology. The world outlook of dialectic materialism with its methodology, the doctrine of the correlation of the Marxist superstructure and its economic foundation, the theory of the state, the theory of class struggle, the theory of contradictions between two categories, etc., are all correct guiding ideas indispensable in building up a socialist legal system. One of these is also the theory and principle of the rule by law. The positive and negative experiences since the founding of our government have revealed to us that if we firmly uphold the theory and principle of rule by law, the establishment of the socialist legal system progresses and will grow and flourish; if we reject the theory and principle of rule of law, the establishment of the socialist legal system retrogresses and stagnates.

In history, the debate over the rule by law versus rule by man and its broad and deep influence on social politics and on the economic and cultural life is an objective fact. At different periods of history, the demand for rule by law always represented the interests of certain progressive forces and reflects the urge for social advance in whatever time it occurs, which is a fact that cannot be denied. The reason why people again and again demand rule by law as the theory and principle for the government of their country and furthermore use it to advance in their efforts to establish a legal system is certainly not that some people are seized by a whim, but because of their objective demand for social progress. During the era of socialism, the reason why people energetically advocate the rule by law is due to the same situation. Today, when more and more people in our country very forcefully advocate rule by law and oppose rule by man, the demand for rule by law has begun to sink in deeply into the minds of the people. This fact alone is eloquent proof that the principle and slogan of "ruling the country according to law" is of great vitality.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'BA YI RADIO' ON INJUSTICE, DISTORTION OF LIN BIAO CASE

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[Text] By the middle of April, nine of the so-called important criminals of the Lin Biao case had been released after serving only part of their sentences because of illnesses. Although their release was approved by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, PLA cadres do not appreciate his mercifulness because these comrades, though set free, are too ill to live long. Moreover, these comrades have been suffering mental agonies which are worse than the torture of their illnesses. More than 3,170 PLA leaders at various levels are in jail because of their involvement in the Lin Biao case, a case of injustice. Most of them were arrested when the "gang of four" rode roughshod. Some of them were put in jail after Comrade Deng Xiaoping regained the position of chief of general staff and took charge of the work of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee. Others entered prison sometime around the public trial of Huang Yongsheng and other comrades. If the leaders of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee are truly concerned about and sympathetic with the leaders of the former military commission, they should nullify the blacklist material fabricated by Kang Sheng and the "gang of four" and give the Lin Biao case a fair and objective retrial.

The right and wrong of a historical issue, particularly an important historical event such as the Lin Biao case, should not be decided by a certain person of a certain group of persons according to his or their likes and dislikes. A fabrication, exaggeration or distortion of facts will reveal its true features sooner or later.

Emperor Kangxi, a man of considerable talent and bold vision in Chinese history, once wrote these comments on a report: I dare not rashly decide the right or wrong. If I do so, someone in the future will blame me when he makes fair comments about me. I fear people of the future generations, not people of the present.

Feudal emperors had absolute power, but people of later generations are not subservient to the power of past rulers. They will correctly appraise the right and wrong of historical events. In the past, Chairman Mao and the

"gang of four" brought unfounded charges against comrades Peng Dehuai, Liu Shaoqi, He Long, Tao Zhu, Peng Zhen and others. Although they were approved by the party national congress and plenary session of the party Central Committee, haven't those charges been repudiated? Moreover, differences over the Lin Biao case have always existed within the CCP Central Committee and its military commission.

Comrade (Wang Yucheng) said at a Hubei meeting of responsible cadres of provincial level organs: several comrades expressed different views when the Political Bureau was considering the question concerning Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huizuo and Jiang Tengjiao. Later, those comrades' views were proven wrong.

In fact, Comrade (Wang Yucheng's) subjective view is wrong. It goes without saying that the Lin Biao case is a case of injustice, distortion and exaggeration. In fact, the great majority of those who are serving sentences are innocent. If the witnesses of this generation do not reach a just, final conclusion on this event, the next generation will surely seek truth from facts and expose the right and wrong of this historical event.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES NATIONALITIES WORK

HK080430 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 May 82 p 5

[Article by Jiang Ping [3068 1627] and Huang Zhu [7806 6999]: "Certain Questions in Nationalities Work"]

[Text] Since the third plenary session, the CCP Central Committee has attached great importance to nationalities problems and to nationalities work. The party's policy toward nationalities which had proved efficient has been revived and enriched. CCP committees and people's governments at different levels have also done a great deal of work, and thus obviously improved the relations between nationalities and daily consolidated the foundation of the unity between nationalities. This is the true nature and major aspect of the matter.

The general principle of the party's nationalities work is to assist all minority nationalities in achieving overall political, economic and cultural development, and in advancing unceasingly along the socialist road, to realize step-by-step real equality between all nationalities. Here we would like to give our opinions on certain questions of nationalities work.

I. The Question of Equality Between Nationalities and Regional National Autonomy

Equality between nationalities is the foundation of unity between nationalities. We communists object to national oppression and advocate equality between nationalities. This is one of our basic points of view in regard to the nationalities problem. With the founding of the PRC and the establishment of the socialist system, we overthrew the system of national oppression, eliminated the sources of suspicion, discrimination and confrontation between nationalities, and thus ensured once and for all general equality between different nationalities. However, racial discrimination and the distrust between nationalities which has existed for a long time cannot be completely eliminated at one stroke. Since 1958, certain "leftist" mistakes in regard to the nationalities problem, in particular the destruction caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, have even encouraged these tendencies. We must resolutely oppose all words and acts which may hurt the unity and equality of nationalities, and consolidate and develop our new type of socialist relationships between nationalities.

But, anyway, we should never improperly exaggerate these phenomena of inequality between nationalities and relate all problems to the inequality between nationalities. For example, there exists undeniable inequality between the Han nationality and minority nationalities, and between minority nationalities themselves. This is a historical issue which is mainly due to the unbalanced development of social productivity. The actual inequality of the equal rights enjoyed by different nationalities is quite different from the inequality of political and legal rights among different nationalities [sentences as published] Therefore, they should not be confused. Our socialist system has opened a road to eliminating this actual inequality. But it is not possible to completely eliminate this within a short period. Lenin said, "A large nationality must cancel out the inequality which actually exists in life by applying unequal treatment to itself. "In fact, our party and state are taking such an attitude and have done this in many fields. For example, we have lowered the admission requirements minority nationality candidates to institutes of higher learning, the state provides a great deal of financial subsidies to those regions of minority nationalities, and so on. All these measures embody this spirit.

Regional national autonomy is the fundamental policy of our party in correctly handling the nationalities problems in our country. As every locality subject to national autonomy is an undivisible part of our motherland, and every autonomous organ is a local government under the centralized leadership of the central people's government, they enjoy the rights derived from autonomy. In other words, they can handle their own local political, economic and cultural problems and enact specific decrees, based on adhering to the constitution and the law, the principle of democratic centralism, the line, principles and policies of the party, and according to the local conditions of the nationalities and in the regions. As for those principles and policies which are stipulated by the central government or superior organs, and which do not conform with local circumstances, autonomous localities and organs are exempt from the obligation to implement them, or they can just make appropriate adaptations in implementing them. The only thing they have to abide by is to ask for instructions in important problems, and make reports after handling ordinary problems. This is what has been stipulated in "the resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC"-- "to ensure the decisionmaking power of every minority nationality region in implementing the policies of the party and the state in the light of the actual local circumstances." In a large and unified multinational country like ours, the lack of regional national autonomy and full autonomous rights will be an obstacle to fully mobilizing the initiative of the people of various nationalities, to giving special consideration to the varied national and regional characteristics, to ensuring the equal rights of minority nationalities, and to consolidating and developing the unity between nationalities and unification of the country.

However, some problems with regard to the understanding on the party's policy of regional national autonomy still need to be appropriately clarified at present, so as to facilitate the healthy development of regional national

autonomy. First of all, our regional nationality autonomy is an autonomy under unified central leadership; the autonomous rights are exercised subject to the constitution and the law, in accordance with the party's principles and policies, and under the CCP Central Committee's unified leadership. This is not the same as the so-called "national sovereignty" which tends to cast off the guidance of the central leadership and deviates from the party's principles and policies. Second, our regional national autonomy is not equivalent to the so-called "nationality autonomy," which does not correspond to a specific geographical division (Marxism always opposes such nationality autonomy), but to a kind of regional autonomy which is limited to those regions where minority nationalities live in compact communities. Therefore, no nationality is allowed, independent of the whole entity of nationalities, to manage on its own the local economic construction and the nationwide four modernization construction and promote "by its own efforts" the so-called "national economic system." Third, the basic characteristics of the nationalities relations in our country is that the Han nationality population, which amounts to more than 900 million, is much larger than the total population of all the minority nationalities, which amounts to only tens of millions. Moreover, the latter is distributed over a vast area, and most of these minority nationalities live together with the Han nationality or in their own groups. Therefore, we should not take the proportion of population as the sole criterion for granting regional national autonomy. A nationality with a relatively large population is qualified for autonomy, which another nationality with a relatively small population can also be granted autonomy. In fact, it is not true that only in localities where a minority nationality accounts for the majority of local population can autonomy be implemented. Fourth, since autonomous localities are inhabited by several minority nationalities and the Han nationality; in order to consolidate regional national autonomy, not only must the relations between the upper levels and the lower levels be properly handled but also the relations between the nationalities in the autonomous locality itself. This not only means the relations between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities but also the relations between the minority nationalities have to be properly handled. The correct practice must be: the Han nationality should enthusiastically take the initiative in assisting minority nationalities to promote autonomy well; minority nationalities and the Han nationality must unite and respect and help each other; and different minority nationalities should consult each other in regard to affairs of common interest and handle them in a unified and planned way. Only in this way can we push various nationalities to unite, advance together and prosper together.

Vigorously cultivating a contingent of national cadres who stick to the party's principles and policies, maintain close links with the masses of various nationalities, possess a rich knowledge of science and culture and are professionally competent; and replenishing this contingent so as to make the proportion of nationality cadres in the total number of cadres match the ratio of the population of minority nationalities to the total population of the

autonomous locality--these form the key to consolidating regional national autonomy and making minority nationalities the masters of their own autonomous localities. At present, we must increase the number of nationality cadres step-by-step. At the same time, we must also take effective measures to vigorously train the existing nationality cadres. We must promote those excellent young and middle-aged cadres who have both ability and political integrity and are enjoying great popularity among the masses to various leading posts in party, government and mass organizations at different levels, and vest them with titles and authority. Here the central issue is: increasing the number of nationality cadres must be integrated with the intensification of their communist spirit. In other words, we must strengthen their education in communism while expanding the contingent of minority nationality cadres.

Since the founding of the PRC, the party and the government have successively sent a great number of Han nationality cadres and technical personnel to work in minority nationality regions. The majority of them have long been sincerely and enthusiastically serving the people of all nationalities, while establishing close ties with the people of minority nationalities and fostering a large number of minority nationality cadres. In the future, we will still have to send a certain number of Han nationality cadres, especially scientific and technical personnel and specialists in other fields to work in minority nationality regions, and help these regions to change their backward appearance.

As emphatically pointed out by the CCP Central Committee, Han nationality cadres working in minority nationality regions should have the correct concept that work cannot be properly promoted without the cooperation of minority nationality cadres. Similarly, minority nationality cadres should also have the correct concept that work cannot be properly done without the help of Han nationality cadres. This is an extremely important spirit, which we must thoroughly understand and resolutely carry out.

II. The Question of Developing the Economies of Minority Nationalities

An economy is a foundation. Our minority nationality areas must take economic construction as the key and strive to promote the economy. We hope that all minority nationality areas will strive to improve their backward appearance by means of practical work and pay a solid foundation for future development. At least one or two autonomous regions and nationality provinces must attain the average national standard of development. Premier Zhao Xiyang emphatically pointed out in his government work report to the fourth session of the Fifth NPC: "Ours is a unified multinational country. Our 10 principles for economic construction are, in general, all applicable to the minority nationalities areas. But they should be implemented with due consideration to specific local characteristics and conditions." "In particular, we reaffirmed last year that the right of the minority nationalities to regional autonomy must be respected and that the national autonomous areas should be

allowed to adopt specific policies suited to their economic conditions and national characteristics. This policy has led to favorable results in the economic development of the minority nationality areas and we should persevere with it."

The following are some of our opinions on the question of developing the economies of the nationalities:

1. We must continue upholding the flexible policies and do a good job of implementing and perfecting the economic responsibility system. In most of the minority nationality areas where the standard of the development of productivity is rather low, we must adopt more flexible measures. In areas which are extremely backward, we must adopt particularly flexible measures. In the future, we must gradually perfect and stabilize the production responsibility system of remuneration according to output in accordance with the local conditions in various places and the masses' desire. Fundamentally speaking, the [passage indistinct] of promoting the agricultural and animal husbandry responsibility system and promoting agricultural and animal husbandry production means doing a good job of work in the minority nationality areas.

2. We must formulate the major principles for production and construction by proceeding from the actual conditions of the minority nationality [word indistinct] most of the minority nationalities live in the border areas, hilly areas and grasslands where there are limited conditions for developing grain production but which are very rich in other resources. Therefore, it is necessary to give play to the merits, avoid the shortcomings and develop diversification. In areas where conditions for developing grain production are poor, we must appropriately lower the grain procurement quota and allow the people to exchange cash crops for grain so that they will stop destroying the forests to open up farmland.

3. In accordance with the principle of the CCP Central Committee, expanded reproduction in the future will mainly rely on technical renovation, giving full play to the role of existing enterprises. Over the past years, a certain number of plants have been constructed in the minority nationality areas. However, the economic returns of these plants are greatly lower than the average national standard and are much lower than those in the advanced areas. Therefore, we must grasp well technical renovation in the existing enterprises in the future in order to improve the economic returns. At the same time, where conditions permit, it is also necessary to appropriately construct new plants to develop the processing industry because most of the minority nationality areas have a poor industrial foundation to start with. We must ensure the fulfillment of the raw materials allocation quotas assigned by the CCP Central Committee, but we must gradually change the situation in which the minority nationality areas are only raw materials supply areas. Some of the raw materials can be supplied to other parts of the country after being processed. For other raw materials which are not included in the allocation plans, we should more actively processing industries.

4. We must follow the path of promoting joint operations. It is impossible for the minority nationality areas to do without the help of the advanced areas. Over the past few years, in response to the call of the CCP Central Committee, various sectors of the advanced areas have provided aid to relevant sectors in some minority nationality areas and obtained good results. In addition, the advanced areas have also jointly built some plants with the minority nationality areas. In some cases, after fulfilling the state's allocation quota, the minority nationality areas have provided raw materials to advanced areas which have then processed and sold them. The profits gained were shared between both parties. The minority nationality areas enjoy superiority in many resources and can get very good economic results if they carry out technical cooperation with advanced areas. At the same time, these areas should also try to make use of foreign capital in appropriate forms under the state's unified arrangement and should import technology.

5. We must conscientiously implement the "decision on strengthening education for workers and staff members" made by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, and provide training for the workers and staff members in a planned and scheduled way. Regarding the peasants and herdsmen, we must also, in accordance with needs and capabilities, organize short-term rotational training in advanced farming and animal husbandry techniques.

6. In exploiting the resources in the minority nationality areas, it is necessary to integrate the state's interest with the personal interests of the minority nationality people. In the past, we did not pay much attention to this aspect and the guiding ideology was not made clear, which consequently led to contradictions between the state and the minority nationalities. We must pay attention to solving this problem in the future.

7. It is necessary to integrate state assistance with self-reliance in developing economies of the minority nationality areas. The state must vigorously support the minority nationality areas in the areas of finance, manpower and material supplies. All the minority nationality areas must arduously struggle, accumulate and economize on construction funds.

We must put it this way. The state has already allocated a large sum of money to the minority nationality areas, but some of the money has not been correctly used and the economic returns were unsatisfactory. In the future, we must set up an effective method to handle, use and supervise various funds set aside for subsidizing and assisting the minority nationalities, including funds set aside for assisting underdeveloped areas and used for the minority nationalities. Thus, the funds will be handled properly and really used for the minority nationalities.

8. Under the state's unified leadership and unified planning, we [passage indistinct] of the financial and economic system and deciding on what financial and economic policies to implement in accordance with the local conditions.

9. We must adopt powerful measures to help those very poor minority nationality areas and those nationalities which have [word indistinct] people. The economic situation in the minority nationality areas has been improved with each passing year since the third plenary session. However, up to now, there are still some areas and nationalities which have not shown obvious improvement. In regard to this situation, we suggest all areas adopt effective measures to gradually solve the problems. They should follow the examples of Yunnan and Guangxi where comprehensive work teams were sent to minority nationality areas to solve problems.

10. The nationalities affairs commission must do a good job of the following as far as economic construction of the minority nationality areas is concerned: 1. study the economic theories, economic knowledge, the party's economic policy and economic strategy; 2. study and carry out research in the economic situation of the minority nationalities areas, and put forth suggestions when problems are detected; 3. promptly report situations to the CCP Central Committee and the party committees; 4. work with the concerted efforts of departments concerned to study questions of principles and policies for agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, commerce and other trades in the minority nationality areas, and conduct necessary meetings; 5. in accordance with the power delegated by the party and the state, handle and supervise funds set aside for the nationalities and pay attention to examining the results.

III. The Question of Developing the Culture and Education of Nationalities

The problem of developing the culture, education, science and public health work of nationalities has become very acute.

The cultural and educational development of minority nationalities is very uneven. A few nationalities have a development similar to that of the Han nationality. But cultural and educational development of the majority of the minority nationalities are very backward. This has been caused by long-term historical factors.

The CCP Central Committee is very concerned about helping the minority nationalities develop culture and education. It was stipulated in the "decision on certain questions of popularizing primary education" made by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council in 1980: "The state should give vigorous support to the development of education in the minority nationality areas. It is necessary to adopt special measures in developing culture and education in the very backward minority nationality areas. The state will be responsible for free education in the poorest areas." Later, the leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council approved the "opinion on strengthening nationalities education work" put forth by the Ministry of Education and the State Nationalities Affairs Commission. This document put forth a set of principles, policies and measures for the development of nationalities education in accordance with the local conditions.

What merits our attention is that great importance has not been attached to the question of backward culture and education of the minority nationalities. Some areas not only refuse to spend more money on developing education but try every possible means to misappropriate funds set aside for educational development. Some areas neglect culture and education as soon as they stress the economy. This situation is a great obstacle in changing the backward cultural and educational situation in the minority nationalities. We must realize that vigorously helping the minority nationalities develop culture, education and science is key to showing concern and giving them assistance.

In developing nationalities culture and education, we must attach great importance to the teaching of, translation of, publication of newspapers and magazines in, and the broadcasting and dubbing of films in the languages of the minority nationalities. It is necessary to take nationalities' languages as the medium of instruction among primary and secondary students who do not understand or speak the Chinese language. At the same time, it is necessary to encourage students to learn Chinese and other foreign languages. The medium of instruction in schools depends on whether or not it is conducive to imparting knowledge. In schools where the students can communicate well in Chinese and can read and write well in Chinese, there is no need to take the nationality languages as the media of instruction. Otherwise, there will be misunderstandings between Han nationality teachers and minority nationalities students. In certain institutes of higher learning, if there is a shortage of teachers who can teach in the nationalities languages, a shortage of necessary textbooks and reference books in the nationalities languages, or if most of the students do not understand the nationalities languages, instruction in nationalities languages should not be pushed forward. We should not exclude these kinds of schools from nationalities education merely because of this.

IV. The Problem of Education in National Unity

Our great Chinese nation (including all nationalities in the country) has a long brilliant history. From the Qin and Han dynasties, a unified multi-national country with centralized power began to take shape. Despite class oppression and nationality oppression in history, there formed among our various nationalities, after a long historical test, a Chinese nation marked by great cohesion. A modern times, imperialist aggression has subjected various nationalities in our country to the same fate of foreign oppression and aroused the people of all nationalities in a common struggle against imperialism. Especially in the period of new democratic revolution, the people of all nationalities in our country were united in a revolutionary war against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They finally achieved the victory in the people's revolution and founded the unified People's Republic of China. Our "Common Program" and "Constitution" clearly state: The People's Republic of China is a unified multinational country with equality of all nationalities and autonomy for the regions of various nationalities. All such autonomous regions are an inseparable part of the

People's Republic of China. This was unanimously agreed upon after full discussions by the representatives of various nationalities and was an embodiment of the free will of all nationalities. This also meant national self-determination for all nationalities in China, which was a matter of significance in world history.

After the founding of the PRC, in order to carry out the party's policy toward nationalities, and strengthen national unity, regular education of the nationalities policy was conducted for a time. Unfortunately this process was later interrupted by the appearance of "leftist" mistakes. Since the downfall of the "gang of four" and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has attached great importance to education in national unity, the party's nationalities policy and fundamental Marxist viewpoints on nationalities and problems concerning nationalities. All parts of the country have done a large amount of work. But what has been done is not extensive or penetrating enough.

In the government work report at the fourth session of the Fifth NPC, Premier Zhao Ziyang also pointed out: "We must seriously and repeatedly conduct education in the nationalities policy among people and cadre of all nationalities, improve and develop socialist nationality relations and strengthen unity and mutual help between various nationalities." We must adopt various means and conduct extensive and penetrating education among people of all nationalities.

Education in fundamental Marxist viewpoints on nationalities and problems concerning nationalities is the basis of education in the nationalities policy and national unity. We should take effective measures to conduct such education well among cadre of all nationalities and especially among party members and party member cadre of all nationalities. This is also part of the party's capital construction effort in the regions of various nationalities.

In conducting education in the nationalities policy, we must not only make a point of guarding against Han chauvinism but also pay attention to overcoming and preventing regional nationalism. In their relations with other minority nationalities, the minority nationality that occupies a dominant position in a region must also pay attention to overcoming and preventing big-nationality chauvinism. Past experiences and lessons may be summed up in the following several guiding rules: 1) We must not only oppose Han chauvinism but also oppose regional nationalism. 2) The most important thing is to make a point of overcoming and guarding against Han chauvinism. Only by so doing can a contribution be made to the effort in overcoming and guarding against regional nationalism. As to which tendency is the dominant one in a given period in a given area, a concrete analysis must be made with reality in mind. 3) Han chauvinism or regional nationalism

must be treated as a contradiction among the people. We must put emphasis on education and seek a solution through the means of study, the means of criticism and self-criticism and the means of reasoning things out.

4) We must not use the label of Han chauvinist or the label of regional nationalist. Any offense against the law must be dealt with according to law. Before the law, everyone is equal. People of a particular nationality should not shield any criminals of the same nationality. Instead, they should actively fight these criminals. 5) We must pay attention to drawing a clear line of distinction between proper national sentiments or opinions representing the proper interests of a nationality and nationalism. 6) We must refrain from using the method of launching a mass political movement.

V. The Question of Strengthening and Improving Party Leadership

In order to improve and develop socialist nationality relations and strengthen nationality unity, we should strengthen and improve party leadership over nationalities work.

In our country, the nationalities problem is a very important one concerning the unity of the motherland, the consolidation of national defenses, stability, unity and modernization. Party committees at all levels and party committees of the regions of various nationalities in particular must treat nationalities work as a major matter and strengthen and improve the party leadership in this respect. They must link the four basic principles with the features peculiar to nationalities and continuously carry out the guidelines of taking a prudent approach and making steady progress. This is a guarantee for the proper handling of nationalities work.

In the nationality regions, we must establish a party organization which is capable of adhering to the four basic principles, establishing close links with the masses of people, acting in unity and showing great militancy. This is a matter of decisive significance. The party knows no distinction between nationalities. The party cannot be divided into one for this nationality and another for that nationality. The party leadership organs or the leaders cannot be elected by people of a single nationality. The party is a proletarian vanguard. All communist party members must be imbued with party spirit. Concerning those people who place nationalism above party spirit, we must strengthen education and make them correct themselves in a realistic way. Regarding historical factors, we must be guided by the spirit of taking a broadminded rather than a narrow-minded approach to historical problems and uniting for the sake of the future. We must seek a solution through criticism and self-criticism and through mutual understanding and mutual concession. We hope that the party organizations of minority nationalities can give full play to the traditions of Yanan and fully benefit by their own historical experiences, building themselves into a solid core or bulwark that leads the people of all nationalities in carrying out socialist modernization.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI MEETING DISCUSSES MAO'S YANAN 'TALKS'

HK090624 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 May 82

[Text] An academic forum on Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," convened by the Hubei Provincial Social Science Institute and Federation of Social Science Associations, concluded on 7 May. The 150 participants aired their views in connection with reality and held fervent discussions. Over 50 theses were presented.

The participants held: Comrade Mao Zedong's "talks" is a brilliant work of major historical and current significance. It has enriched and developed Marxist-Leninist literature and art theory. It has guided the development of China's revolutionary literature and art cause for 40 years.

They all held: The question of whom literature and art should serve remains a fundamental issue and a matter of principle today. Our literature and art must persistently follow the orientation of serving the people and socialism. Many moving deeds of progressive figures have come to the fore in the course of accomplishing the motherland's four modernizations. These should become the main topics for description and praise in our literature and art.

The meeting held: social life is the sole source of literature and art. Revolutionary writers should go deep into the masses' life for a long time. In particular they should become familiar with and express topics of major historical and current significance. This is extremely important for overcoming certain unhealthy trends in writing at present.

The meeting also discussed issues such as criteria for literature and art criticism, writing methods, democratization and popularization. The participants pledged: We must adhere to the basic spirit of the "talks," seriously study the new situations and problems in literature and art, and make still greater contributions to promoting socialist literature and art and building specialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/843

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GANSU TRAINS PARTY MEMBERS ON PRINCIPLES, POLICIES

SK080342 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 7 May 82

[Text] Last year provincial party organs at all levels sponsored rotational training courses for 530,000 party in urban and rural areas--70 percent of the province's total--to enable them to receive education on the party's purpose, the party's line, principles and policies and the party's three major work styles. During the rotational trainings for rural party members, all localities stressed the study of the central resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the People's Republic of China and, in the light of the reality, emphatically solved problems arising in the people's understanding of the current situation and the party's rural policies and educated party members to take the lead in implementing and improving all kinds of production responsibility systems, properly handle the relations of the state, the collectives and the individuals and be models in building the socialist material and spiritual civilizations. All localities integrated the rotational training of party members with the strengthening of the party's basic organizations. At the same time, they conducted democratic reelections among over 80 percent of grassroots level party organizations and established and improved a number of systems necessary for the education of grassroots-level party members.

Through rotational trainings, party organs have clarified some confused ideas of party members, enhanced their consciousness in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and heightened their spirit. Many party members of communes and brigades have pledged to take the lead in publicizing and implementing the party's line, principles and policies, fulfilling all production contracts and procurement and assigned procurement tasks, studying scientific and cultural knowledge, doing assigned farming work well, helping the masses to become prosperous through hard work, safeguarding the collective economy, changing old customs and social habits, carrying out the campaign on five stresses and four points of beauty, practicing birth control and bringing into play the role of party members as vanguards and models.

CSO: 4005/843

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

GUANGXI WATER POLO MATCH--On the evening of 5 May a water polo match was held in Nanning between the Guangdong and Guangxi water polo teams. Guangxi beat Guangdong by a score of 6 to 5. Leading regional party and government comrades including Qiao Xiaoguang, Guangxi regional CCP committee first secretary, and Xu Qihai attended the match. [HK070638 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 May 82]

XIAN ACADEMIC MEETING--A national meeting on study and research of ancient literature and art opened in the Northwest University in Xian on 6 May, attended by 180 experts, professors and students from all over the country. Leading comrades of Shaanxi Province including Ma Wenrui, Chen Yuanfang, and Lin Yinru attended the opening ceremony. Chen Yuanfang made a speech. He noted that the study of ancient literature and art represents an important content of building spiritual civilization. The meeting has received more than 20 congratulatory cables, including one from Lanzhou PLA units First Political Commissar Xiao Hua. [HK070157 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 6 May 82]

SHAANXI JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION--A rally was held in Xian on 30 April to mark the establishment of the Shaanxi Provincial Journalists' Association. Chen Yuanfang, secretary of the provincial CCP committee; (Huang Zhi), Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP committee and director of the propaganda department of the provincial CCP committee; and (Lu Gang), deputy director of the propaganda department, attended. (Huang Zhi) spoke at the rally, encouraging journalists throughout the province to do journalism well in the new historical period. Before the rally was held, the association had held a council meeting to discuss and adopt the regulations of the association, to arrange for work of the association in 1982 and to elect members of the council and responsible persons of the association. [HK060639 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 May 82 HK]

YOUTH CADRES TRAINING CLASS--An opening ceremony for the second training class of national youth work cadres sponsored by the CYL school of the CYL Central Committee was held in Beijing on the afternoon of 5 May. Zhang Wensong, vice minister of the Ministry of Education, and Zhou Pengcheng, secretary of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, attended the ceremony and spoke. They urged the trainees to devote themselves to youth work and make contributions to educating China's young people to be successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. [OW100331 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1600 GMT 5 May 82 OW]

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